

Message Text

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ORIGIN EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-15 NSC-10 SCA-01 PA-03 PRS-01 USIA-15

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

INFO AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USMISSION BERLIN

UNCLAS STATE 193187

E.O.:N/A

TAGE: PFOR, ETRD, UR, XH

SUBJECT: MFN AND SOVIET EMIGRATION

EXCERPTS FROM SECRETARY KISSINGER'S SEPTEMBER 26 PRESS
CONFERENCE WHICH DEAL WITH MFN AND SOVIET EMIGRATION ARE
GIVEN BELOW FOR EMBASSY'S INFORMATION:

Q. MR. SECRETARY, THIS IS NOT PATENTLY YOUR TALK WITH
ANDREI GROMYKO, WHICH YOU RULED OUT, BUT I WOULD LIKE TO
ASK A QUESTION ABOUT HIS PUBLIC SPEECH IN THE ASSEMBLY,
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IN WHICH HE DEMANDS THAT WESTERN NATIONS STOP MEDDLING IN

THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THE SOVIET UNION -- AND I THINK SOMETHING IN CONNECTION PRINCIPALLY WITH THE EMIGRATION POLICY OF THE SOVIET UNION.

THE MANNER IN WHICH HE SPOKE OF IT, LEFT US UNCERTAIN AS TO WHETHER THIS REALLY MEANT ANY LESSENING OF THE SPIRIT OF DETENTE, OR WHETHER IT WAS SIMPLY A PUBLIC GESTURE IN A PRIVATE GAME.

COULD YOU --

A. LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, DURING MY CONFIRMATION HEARINGS, I WAS ASKED EXTENSIVELY ABOUT THIS ISSUE. IT IS ALSO AN ISSUE ABOUT WHICH I PLAN TO MAKE A FORMAL STATEMENT SOMETIME IN THE NEXT MONTH OR SIX WEEKS.

BUT FOR NOW, LET ME REITERATE WHAT I SAID THEN.

THE UNITED STATES, OF COURSE, HAS ITS OWN DEEPLY HELD VIEWS ABOUT THE HUMAN VALUES AT STAKE -- BOTH IN EMIGRATION POLICIES AND IN INTERNAL POLICIES.

THE FOREIGN POLICY QUESTION WE FACE IS:

FIRST, THE DEGREE TO WHICH OUR FOREIGN POLICY CAN DIRECTLY AFFECT OTHERS.

AND SECONDLY, THE ALTERNATIVES WE IN FACT CONFRONT IF OUR DIRECT ACTIONS ARE INEFFECTIVE.

THERE IS A GREAT TENDENCY TO ASSUME THAT EVERYTHING THAT HAS BEEN ACHIEVED IS NOW AUTOMATICALLY PERMANENT, AND CAN BE DRAWN UPON AS IF ITS CAPITAL WERE INEXHAUSTIBLE.

WE HAVE TAKEN THE POSITION THAT WE WOULD NOT, AS A GOVERNMENT, TAKE A FORMAL, PUBLIC POSITION, BUT WE HAVE ALSO TAKEN THE POSITION THAT INsofar AS WE HAVE INFLUENCE IN OTHER WAYS, WE WOULD USE IT TO THE LIMIT OF OUR CAPABILITIES.

NOW YOU ARE ALL FAMILIAR WITH THE FACT THAT THE UNCLASSIFIED

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EMIGRATION TAX IS NOT BEING ENFORCED. ON AN UNOFFICIAL BASIS WE HAVE BROUGHT MANY HARDSHIP CASES THAT WERE SUBMITTED TO US BY VARIOUS ORGANIZATIONS HERE TO THE ATTENTION OF VARIOUS OFFICIALS. MANY OF THOSE HAVE BEEN PERMITTED TO EMIGRATE.

SO THE CHOICE WE HAVE TO MAKE IS BETWEEN A PUBLIC STANCE AND THE INFLUENCE THAT OUR GENERAL RELATIONSHIP

GIVES US.

WE BELIEVE THAT WE HAVE BEEN QUITE EFFECTIVE. BUT WE SHOULD KEEP IN MIND THAT THERE IS A POINT BEYOND WHICH ONE CANNOT PRESS A SITUATION AS IT EXISTS.

Q. YOU SAY THERE IS A POINT BEYOND WHICH THE DETENTE SHOULD NOT BE PRESSED. I WONDER IF YOU COULD OUTLINE WHAT YOU THINK MIGHT HAPPEN IF THE CONGRESS REVOKES OR BLOCKS THE MOST FAVORED NATION STATUS FOR THE SOVIET UNION IN THE NEW TRADE BILL.

A. I DON'T WANT TO SPECULATE ABOUT SOVIET ACTIONS. I HAVE STATED PREVIOUSLY THAT THE MOST FAVORED NATION CLAUSE WAS PART OF A GENERAL ARRANGEMENT WITH THE SOVIET UNION IN NEGOTIATIONS EXTENDING OVER A PERIOD OF MANY YEARS. IF NOW THE MOST FAVORED NATION CLAUSE IS BLOCKED, THEN THE MOST SERIOUS QUESTION HAS TO BE RAISED ABOUT THE DEGREE TO WHICH OTHER COUNTRIES -- IN THIS CASE THE SOVIET UNION -- CAN RELY ON A COMPLEX NEGOTIATION AND ABOUT THE PERFORMANCE OF THE UNITED STATES, OVER A PERIOD OF TIME, OF ITS COMMITMENT. THERE WAS NO REASON TO SUPPOSE AT THE TIME THAT THIS MOST FAVORED NATION ISSUE WAS DISCUSSED WITH THE SOVIET UNION, THAT THE TYPE OF PROBLEM THAT IS NOW BLOCKING IT COULD BE THE SUBJECT OF CONDITIONS IN CONGRESS. IT HAD NEVER BEEN SO USED IN ANY PREVIOUS CASE WHERE MOST FAVORED NATION STATUS WAS REQUESTED FOR A COMMUNIST COUNTRY. THEREFORE, IT WOULD CERTAINLY BE A SIGNIFICANT SETBACK IN THE POLICY THAT

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WE ARE PURSUING. KISSINGER

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Subject: ITTED TO US BY VARIOUS ORGANIZATIONS HERE TO THE ATTENTION OF VARIOUS OFFICIALS. MANY OF THOSE HAVE BEEN
TAGS: PFOR, ETRD, UR, XH
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